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ABSTRACT

To discover why innovations fail, a model of institutionalization-termination process of innovation was applied in a study of the colleges at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo. Additionally, a recent formal evaluation of the college that updates the analysis is appended. The concepts of "boundary expansion" and "boundary contraction" are explained as are the characteristics of "compatibility" and "profitability," which determine whether innovation will be institutionalized by boundary expansion or contraction. In 1975 at SUNY at Buffalo, each college interested in continuing was required to submit a charter. Four issues underlying chartering that were concerned with the compatibility of the colleges and universities are: organization and administration of the colleges, character of the collegiate assembly, academic freedom, and academic quality of college courses. Formulating and planning of the institutionalization-termination of the innovation, approving a plan, and implementing the plan are discussed. Interpretations of applying the model at SUNY at Buffalo are provided. The appended evaluation report addresses the colleges as residential units and as academic units, the governance of the colleges, and the colleges and the rest of the community. (SW)

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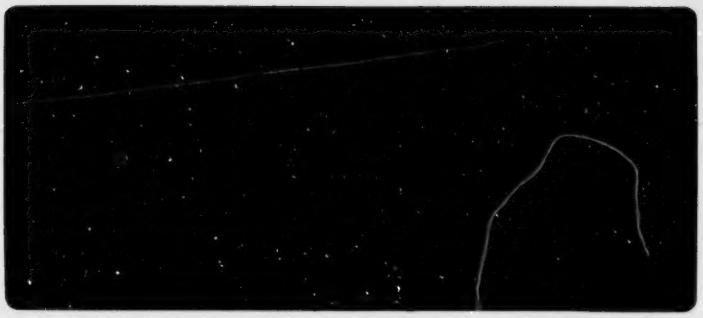

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The Life and Death of Innovation in Higher Education

by

Arthur Levine

Occasional Paper Number Two

Department of Higher Education
Faculty of Educational Studies
State University of New York at Buffalo

December, 1978

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PREFACE

In this, the second occasional paper issued by the Department of Higher Education, we feature a thoughtful analysis by a graduate of the Department, Arthur Levine. His doctoral dissertation was concerned with how and why change succeeds or fails. Mr. Levine's paper considers these issues in a study of the Colleges, an innovative undergraduate component of the State University of New York at Buffalo. His paper provides insight into the general problems of innovation in higher education and also sheds light on a unique educational experiment.

In addition to Arthur Levine's analysis, we include a recent formal evaluation of the Colleges to provide an up-date to the paper.

These papers are designed not only to inform professionals in higher education of current research done in the Department of Higher Education, but also to create controversy and thought. We feel this paper serves both functions admirably.

Arthur Levine received his Ph.D. from the Departments of Higher Education and Sociology in 1976. He is currently a Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. His book, Reform of Undergraduate Education (Jossey-Bass, 1973), received the American Council on Education "Book of the Year" award in 1974. His most recent publication is Handbook on Undergraduate Curriculum (Jossey-Bass, 1978).

Philip G. Altbach
E. D. Duryea
Series Editors

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface i

1. The Life and Death of Innovation in Higher Education: A Model 1

2. A Case Study of Innovation at the State University of New York at Buffalo 13

3. Why Innovations Fail 62

Footnotes 69

Bibliography 70

Appendix: Colleges' Evaluation Report

CHAPTER ONE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF INNOVATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A MODEL

In 1969 the faculty of Brown University voted to replace, in toto, their traditional program with a progressive new student-centered curriculum. The change was widely noticed in the educational community and was the subject of much praise. Commenting on the program five years later in an article entitled, "Brown University Trend: Back to Old Curriculum," Robert Rheinehold said, "today the reforms which were hailed as the most flexible and progressive undergraduate curriculum to be found in any major American university are struggling for survival against heavy odds" (New York Times, 2/24/75, p. 5). He went on to chronicle the de facto collapse of the program.

Across the continent, Stanford University in 1969 introduced a major curriculum change which included two extra-departmental credit-granting units. After more than a year of operation, John Weingart and I reviewed those programs and were so impressed with their success that we recommended they be profiled as part of a planned television documentary on higher education. On January 14, 1975, Stanford announced that it was terminating both units (San Francisco Chronicle, 1/15/75, p. 3).

One thing the new curriculum at Brown and the subunits at Stanford have in common is that they were both innovations. The key words to describe them or any innovation might be new and different. In this sense innovation combines the elements

of reform and change, reform implying new and change implying different. It can operationally be defined as any departure from the traditional practices of a particular college or university. As a result, the element of newness inherent in innovation is a relative phenomenon--what is new in one place may be old in the next.

The process of innovation or change has been described in several studies of organizations and groups [Hage and Aiken (70), Mann and Neff (61), Rogers (62), Rogers and Shoemaker (71), Smelser (59)]. All present multi-phased models which can be consolidated into four fundamental stages: (1) the existence of a perceived need to change--it is realized that an individual, group, or college-wide need is not being satisfied; (2) the transformation of the need into a program--a concrete plan for satisfying the need is planned and formulated; (3) the initiation and implementation of the program--the plan is put into operation on a trial basis; (4) institutionalization or termination of the program--either the operating plan is stabilized and socially integrated into the college or it is discontinued. This paper is concerned with the fourth stage; the period described in the Brown and Stanford accounts. Little attention has been paid to the question of what happens to an innovation after it has been adopted. This is unfortunate because innovations are frequently transformed following their adoption. Sometimes they erode away as at Brown; sometimes they end abruptly as at Stanford; and less frequently they significantly change the college in which

they were adopted. This chapter presents a model which describes the various outcomes of innovations during the post-adoption period and the rationale for those outcomes. In Chapter 2, the model is applied in a study of 14 experimental colleges at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Chapter 3 concludes the paper with a discussion of why innovation fails.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The process of innovation begins with the college or university. All kinds of institutions of higher education have been chronicled--public, private, sectarian, nonsectarian, selective, nonselective, large, small, and so on. They are all different, yet they all have three characteristics in common. These are a network of social relations, shared orientations, and continuance over time. The network of social relations includes a means of communication, patterns of authority and control, rules of membership, and the other characteristics that describe the ways in which people interact in the college or university. Shared orientations consist of a common set of norms, values, and goals. Norms are the commonly prescribed guidelines to conduct within the college; values are the commonly shared beliefs and sentiments within the college; and goals, which are reflective of college values and are attained according to college norms, are the purpose and direction of the college.

The specific variety of shared orientations and network of social relations which comprise a particular college or

university constitute its character or personality. Colleges protect that character by means of boundaries. Kai Erikson describes them as a "symbolic set of parentheses" which control a college or, more generally, any organization's social space in order to retain "a limited range of activities, and a given pattern of constancy and stability within the larger environment" (Erikson, 1966, p. 10). This means that boundaries circumscribe or stipulate the network of social relations and shared orientations appropriate to the college. Their function is to maintain the college very much as it is. Any change in shared orientations and social relations within the college requires a change in boundaries.

INNOVATIONS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Innovation is likely to occur when a college fails to achieve desired goals or when it is felt that goals can better be satisfied in another manner. These realizations were described earlier as the first phase of the four-stage innovation process--the need stage. The realization of need and subsequent innovation may or may not be an immediate response to goal failure. It may not occur until there has been extensive internal or external examination; or it may, in fact, never occur. Colleges that continually neglect to respond to goal failure are likely candidates for extinction. If, however, a need is recognized and the college seeks a means for satisfying it. No matter what the means, it represents an innovation for that college.

The actual contact between an innovation and a college can occur during any of the first three stages of the innovation process. During the first stage, recognition of need, and the second stage, planning and formulating a solution, the innovation is, at its point of greatest development, nothing more tangible than an idea. Participation in these two stages may vary from a college-wide to an individual phenomenon. The possessor of an innovative idea need be only a single individual, and possibly even an individual external to the college. For example, one person, or the entire university community, or even an outside source such as the U.S. Department of Labor may identify the failure of the university to consider the problems of women as a need. The planning and formulation of the solution can vary from an individual designing an independent study; to the faculty, students, and administration of the university forming a joint committee to create a women's studies program; to the U.S. Department of Labor imposing affirmative action guidelines upon the university. In any case, when the innovation or solution is implemented and initiated, which is the third stage of the innovation process, there is necessarily contact between the college and the innovation, whether or not the college approved the innovation.

This third stage is a trial period. During it, the innovation is tested as a solution to the unsatisfied need. If the college has formally approved the innovation and thereby permitted its implementation and initiation, it

usually grants the innovation some degree of initial autonomy in order to work out unresolved questions, solve unanticipated problems, and in general set up house. Thereafter, the college begins to send a gradually increasing number of cues to the innovation--some subtle, some unsubtle--about how it should begin fitting in with the institution. These cues are intended to begin the fourth stage of the innovation process, institutionalization or termination, designed to make the innovation just a routine part of the college, a necessary occurrence if the institution is to achieve a common set of goals.

If the innovation is not approved by the college, the grace period prior to institutionalization or termination described above is unlikely. Autonomy is a prize that a college grants only after it has legitimized an innovation, and formal approval is the way in which it confers legitimacy.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OR TERMINATION OF THE INNOVATION: A MODEL

Because innovations are by definition departures from traditional college practices, the innovation and its parent college have at least a somewhat different set of goals, norms, and values, and, as a result, a differing set of boundaries. This is apparent in the unapproved innovation soon after implementation-initiation and in the approved innovation by the end of the trial period. The presence of two separate and divergent boundary systems combine to provide multiple or blurred definitions of institutional character. A college cannot function in this manner. Each

boundary system pulls it in a different direction by making competing demands for its resources. This results initially in hostility and often ultimately in open conflict between the college and the innovation. The conflict can only be resolved by making congruent the diverging boundaries, which is essential for institutional health. Otherwise the college would expend its resources on internal conflict rather than attainment of goals, the raison d'etre for institutional existence.

Conflict resolution and boundary convergence are the functions of the institutionalization or termination stage. There exist two mechanisms for accomplishing these ends. The mechanism selected is largely at the discretion of the college, as the innovation is typically dependent upon it for resources and the people associated with the innovation have likely developed a survival wish. The first mechanism is called boundary expansion and involves an adoption of the innovation's shared orientations by the college or more simply an acceptance by the college of some or all of the innovation's differences. Owing to the dominant position of the college, there is very rarely a complete acceptance of innovation differences; far more common are mutual changes in college and innovation shared orientations agreed upon through joint negotiation. In boundary expansion, convergence of college and innovation boundaries, and conflict resolution occur when the college legitimizes some or all of the innovation's differences and agrees to live with or absorb those differences. Acceptance or absorption can involve establishing the innovation as an enclave or diffusing it through the college.

Diffusion is the process whereby the innovation spreads through the parent college, and enclaving is the process whereby the innovation assumes an isolated position within the college.

The second mechanism is called boundary contraction and involves a constriction of institutional boundaries in such a manner as to exclude innovation differences. The innovation, which is then outside the college boundaries, is viewed as illegitimate and labeled deviant. The labeling of deviance serves to stabilize and make distinct the new boundaries by singling out previously not unaccepted norms, values, and goals as now clearly inappropriate for the institution. Having established the presence of a deviant subpart, the college needs to apply a sanction in order to formalize the new boundaries and end the internal conflict. This necessitates a showing that deviance of the innovation's variety will not be tolerated. The college has two available sanctions--resocialization or termination of the innovation. Resocialization occurs when the innovation is made to renounce its past deviance and adopt the acceptable norms, values, and goals it failed to learn previously. Termination occurs when the innovation is ended. Boundary contraction, then fosters boundary convergence and conflict resolution by excising contested innovation differences.

Two characteristics of the innovation determine whether it will be institutionalized by boundary contraction or boundary expansion and which form of contraction or expansion institutionalization will take. The characteristics are compatibility and profitability (Fliegel and Kivlin, 1962).

Compatibility, which can be defined as innovation congruence with the shared orientations of its parent college, is a measure of the appropriateness of an innovation within existing college boundaries. It is a measure of dissatisfaction. Compatibility is not in any way related to whether or not an innovation works, it indicates solely whether the innovation is inconsistent with the norms, values, and goals of a college. In seeking compatibility a college tries to maintain its shared orientations and networks of social relations. In this manner, the college attempts to protect the status quo and avoid changes in established boundaries. Colleges continually monitor and seek to preserve cherished boundaries. The word "maintenance" is the key to compatibility. The greater the compatibility of an innovation with the college, the less the degree of dissatisfaction within the college aimed at the innovation.

In contrast to compatibility, profitability is a measure of satisfaction. It involves an assessment of the effectiveness of the innovation in satisfying college-wide, subgroup, or individual needs. In evaluating profitability, a college decides whether the innovation: (1) satisfies the specific need for which it was created; and (2) positively or negatively affects the rest of the institution. Unlike compatibility considerations, which aim at preserving a particular array of institutional boundaries, profitability is concerned strictly with a pragmatic assessment of gain irrespective of the boundary system.

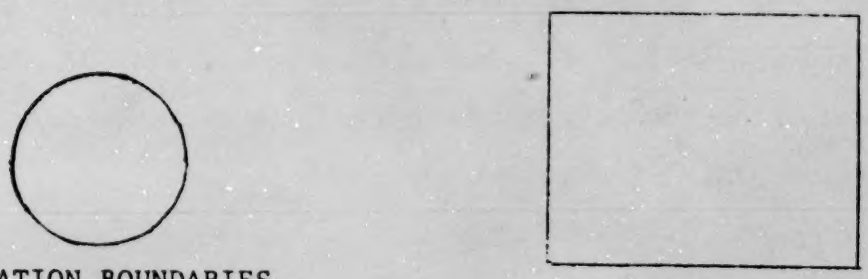
There are two forms of profitability--self interest profitability and general profitability. Self-interest

profitability is that which motivates college subunits, such as departments, and individuals, such as faculty members, to adopt an innovation themselves, and general profitability is that which motivates a college to preserve an innovation, but would cause neither subunits, nor individuals to adopt it. For instance, an innovation adopted by one department in response to declining revenues which resulted in increased enrollments, more faculty lines, and a large foundation grant would motivate other individuals and departments with similar needs to adopt the innovation. This is self-interest profitability. On the other hand, an example of general profitability might be a learning skills center which was established because students lacked basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. The success of such a center would obviate the need for subunits or individuals to adopt similar programs. Such an innovation would be profitable because it satisfied a recognized need and allowed the college to pursue its goals without the prior encumberance of students lacking basic skills.

With this background in mind, compatibility and profitability can be placed in their roles as the determinants of the institutionalization-termination outcomes of the post-adoption period. Boundary expansion via diffusion occurs when an innovation is compatible with the norms, values, and goals of a college and the innovation is self-interest profitable. Boundary expansion via enclaving occurs when an innovation is compatible with the norms, values, and goals of the college and the innovation exhibits general profitability. Boundary

contraction via resocialization is associated with incompatible, but profitable innovations. And boundary contraction via termination occurs when an innovation is unprofitable and either compatible or incompatible with the norms, values, and goals of the college. This is shown in the following chart.

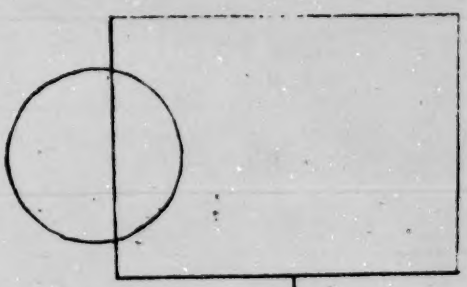
THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OR TERMINATION OF INNOVATION IN COLLEGES



INNOVATION BOUNDARIES

COLLEGE BOUNDARIES

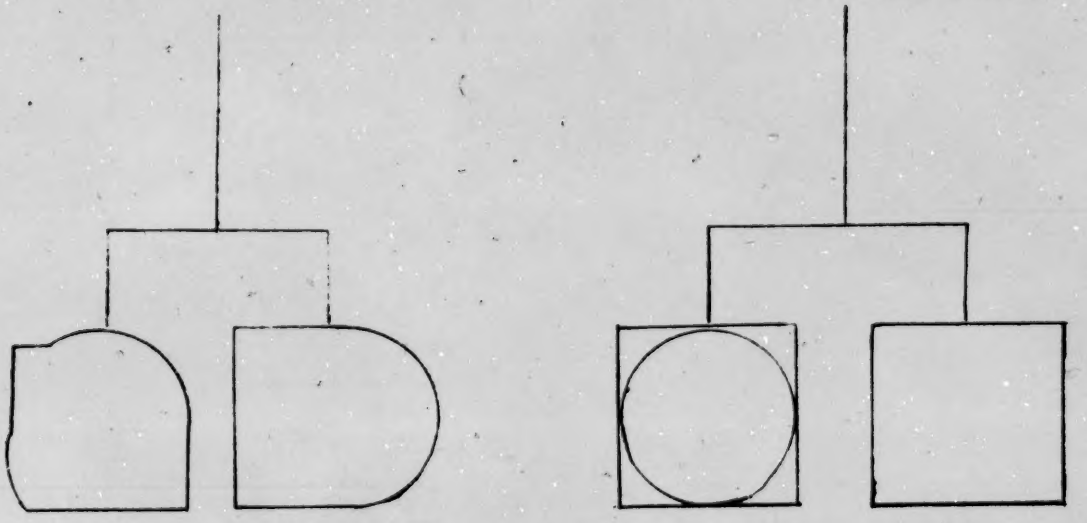
IMPLEMENTATION-INITIATION STAGE



INNOVATION AND COLLEGE BOUNDARIES

BOUNDARY EXPANSION

BOUNDARY CONTRACTION



DIFFUSION	ENCLAVING	RESOCIALIZATION	TERMINATION
Compatibility (+)	Compatibility (+)	Compatibility (-)	Compatibility (+,-)
Self-interest	General	Profitability (+)	Profitability (-)
Profitability (+)	Profitability (+)		

CHAPTER TWO

A CASE STUDY OF INNOVATION AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

This chapter picks up where the last ended. It applies the institutionalization-termination model in a case study of "the Colleges" at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB).[1/] The colleges, initiated in 1968, are a group of experimenting, independent undergraduate subunits with diverse interests and areas of study; some are residential, others are not. Each offers an assortment of theme related courses, but none are degree granting, nor do any offer majors. The colleges operate under the purview of the University's faculty senate, which is advisory to the president of the institution. The senate is the university-wide legislative body through which the faculty of the university make their opinions known. In April 1974, the senate, with one dissenting vote and subsequent presidential approval, drafted a new operating prospectus or master plan for the colleges, which dissolved all of the existing units as of January 1975, but provided a procedure whereby the fourteen established colleges could be approved in the interim. A university-wide committee, also advisory to the president of the university, called the chartering committee was created. Each college interested in continuing past January was required to submit a charter or constitution and a mass of supporting documentation to that committee. The content of the material was minutely specified. Based upon the constitution, documentation,

and a public hearing for each college, the chartering committee recommended to the president that each charter be accepted, rejected, modified, or delayed. In January 1975, after reading the committee's recommendation, college documents, and holding his own meetings, the president made decisions on each college.[2/]

The chartering process was a resocialization measure; however, some colleges chose not to go through chartering or were rejected, which is termination. The combination of the two adds up to a study of boundary contraction, but that is not all that occurred. There was, surprisingly, boundary expansion as well. The widely acknowledged rationale for the prospectus and subsequent transformation of the colleges was grounded in a widespread lack of faith by the faculty and administration of the university in the colleges associated with educational conduct, and a feeling by the colleges that they were being oppressed by the university. Conflict was open and bitter. Tales of abuse and supporting anecdotes on both sides were legion.

This was the second time the colleges were institutionalized. The first instance was in 1970 when the colleges en masse were institutionalized through boundary expansion via enclaving. The procedure was far less elaborate then. However, the reasons for the 1970 institutionalization were the same as those responsible for the 1974 chartering, but the colleges were not.

In Spring, 1974 they described themselves as follows:

College B:

College B is a residential Collegiate Unit on the SUNYAB campus which focuses on the arts and humanities. Our students and faculty are drawn from every area of the University--the arts, humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences--but they all share an interest in the arts and in using the artistic perspective to make education a more personalized and humane endeavor. The college offers both credit-bearing courses and non-credit workshops in an informal environment which provides a uniquely integrated educational experience.

College E:

College E is a College which has defined itself not in terms of field or structural parts, but in terms of process: it is run as a cooperative. As such it has found continuing interest in revolutionary art, i.e. media; revolutionary science, i.e. parapsychology and yoga; and revolutionary social forms, i.e. minorities and white counter-culture.

College F:

We feel that by dealing with the personal and making connection with the political we can make changes in our lives and the society around us.

College H:

College H is concerned about health in its broadest sense. It serves as a communication center, which opens up avenues for providing the best possible health care. The wholeness of a person's physical and mental being exists in concert with the state of world in which he or she lives: the political climate, the social atmosphere, the economic situation. College H sees its programs as open to the entire community. We see this as an imperative because in a crisis state it is especially important to learn how we can become active determiners of our health behavior. The educational environment to be sought will be experimental. Education will not be confined to the classroom; rather students will have an opportunity to utilize their thoughts and ideas in the community.

College Z:

The College Z program in Law begins with the assumption that the legal process in America as it is now constituted is experienced by most of the people it affects as incomprehensible and remote. Thus, in great part, the existence of the College

program is predicated upon our attempt to discover and test new methods of creating legal awareness among the people of the community so that they will be able (at least minimally) to protect and defend themselves from illegal incursions upon their rights, to enable them to understand laws and proposed legislation and how it affects them, and thereby enable them to informedly criticize legislation and their legislators as well as initiate corrective action in the cases of existing wrongs.

Communications College:

It is the purpose of Communications College (Contemporary Crafts College) to provide an environment where the two opposing trends in art (the Fine Arts and the more immediate crafts) can come together. Students who participate will be taught the basic skills of the medium of their choice. Knowledge of the craft is initiated through the most obvious applications of the medium. Students are encouraged to develop the sense of design in a medium that will engage them in self-conscious expression. The craft areas taught are jewelry, ceramics, leather, enameling, and weaving.

College of Mathematical Sciences:

The College of Mathematical Sciences is a community of students and faculty with interests that are mathematical. These interests vary from questions of theoretical interest to the applications of mathematics to medicine, biology, ecology and the physical and engineering sciences. Though traditional education in mathematics has tended to emphasize the axiomatic development of mathematics the College wishes to emphasize another aspect--the study of concrete or practical topics and the development of these topics mathematically. Some College courses dwell on concrete or practical topics and encourage the student to express the truths these topics present and seek convincing arguments for their justification.

New College of Modern Education:

Our College is examining and acting upon new theories of the process of education. We feel the present system of education fails to meet the needs of our contemporary society, and we are searching for better alternatives of theory and practice. Our studies range from new concepts of societal value systems and new theories of educational structures, such as "free schools," to new conceptions of the social conditioning process. Emphasis is placed on the practical application of the knowledge learned. Thus, students work in local educational experiments, examine their own personal educational processes, and contribute to the knowledge of others through film, video-tape, and journalistic media.

Rachel Carson College:

The goals of Rachel Carson College are to provide students with the basic knowledge of environmental problems, to maintain an environmental action program, and to provide a service to the community. The faculty are drawn from biology, engineering, chemistry, sociology, international studies, and other departments. In addition several community people teach: an environmental lawyer, a city planner, a museum curator. Courses include several survey courses, courses in basic areas of environmental problems: energy and resources, population, law, nutrition, air pollution, land use. Several courses emphasize applying knowledge: environmental action, consumerism, field study of environmental impact. We hope to add next year a series of 1 credit hour outdoor skills courses in camping, sailing, canoeing, and rock climbing.

C. P. Snow College:

The demand for integrated, coherent courses on urban-related issues continues to increase on our campus. Our program is an attempt to complement the efforts of other urban programs in the University, as we seek to fill the gaps left by one-dimensional approaches. We try to tie together the skills and concepts learned in other disciplines into an action-oriented framework of research and clinic work on urban problems. We offer courses involved with urban systems, transportation planning, social planning and community organizing, urban economics, technological alienation and survival, planning methodologies, "grantsmanship," and urban law. Specific ongoing projects include the Housing Rights Co-op, the Amherst Housing Survey, Behavioral Research in the Criminal Justice System, Auto Mechanics, Simulation Games, and some unique interfaces with law programs for supervised fieldwork in urban legal issues such as special housing courts and jury survey.

Social Sciences College:

The purpose of this College is to bring people together to study radical social theory. We believe that such theory is necessary in order to understand American society. We reject the idea that societies can be understood through the use of the isolated and segmented disciplines and categories of orthodox social sciences. We believe that the development of a radical analysis of American society is a necessary part of the struggle to overcome the conditions which stifle human potential and prevent human liberation.

Vico College:

Vico College represents an integrated, inter-disciplinary approach to liberal education. Its staff is committed to education through intellectual confrontation with the critical ideas of Western culture. Through the College's Core Courses we focus upon the great texts of the past, from the Greeks through the 19th century, and accept the premise that the critical, moral, social and political crises of our own experience are, for the most part, perennial problems in modern dress. The students and faculty of Vico College are drawn from many disciplines; all of us agree that there is a need, in a large and fragmented university like SUNYAB, for a program which can integrate the diversity of educational experiences open to the student.

Women's Studies College:

Education in American universities is often the study of the culture and historical development of the middle and upper class white male. Neglected in the curriculum are the culture and struggles of groups, who out of their oppression, sought to change society. Women are one of these oppressed groups. We have been subjected to an educational system which has reinforced the stereo-typic images of women as passive, dependent, unintellectual and unable to analyze and understand our own position in society. Education has not taught women the skills necessary to have a critical understanding of how society operates. We must therefore create our own education, an education that will begin to meet our needs as women; it will be an ongoing process to change the ways in which we think and behave. The Women's Studies College is run by and for the students taking Women's Studies courses and the people teaching them. Regular meetings are held throughout the year and everyone involved in the College is encouraged to participate.

Clifford Furnas College:

Clifford Furnas College is a living-learning experience, with about 300 students and a board of fellows drawn from SUNYAB's best faculty. It's a smaller unit within the university. It's a place for the serious student. It's an attempt to integrate the students academic experience with his or her life out of the classroom. To this end informal learning is encouraged in an environment of good fellowship among students united in a common goal of obtaining something more out of the time spent in college.

The Issues

The issues underlying chartering were four and all were concerned with the compatibility of the colleges the university.

Compatibility Issue 1: Organization and Administration of the Colleges

Compatibility issue 1 centered on the role of director of the colleges. On resigning, Pat Smith, the colleges' second director, termed the directorship an impossible position because the university administration and the colleges had conflicting expectations of the director's role. The administration wanted a leader who would control the colleges. Its collegiate director was expected to relay and enforce university policies among the colleges. The colleges, on he other hand, wanted a spokesperson who would be responsible to the assembly of colleges and defend its opinions to the rest of the university.

The basic difficulty here lay in the divergent organization and governance patterns of the colleges and the university. The university was hierarchically organized. Departments were subunits of faculties and seven faculties constituted the university. In terms of reporting procedures, the department chairman reported to a provost who reported to the vice-president of academic affairs who reported to the president of the university. Technically, the colleges were a faculty and the director was expected to act as a provost. Though the other provosts had many of the same competing demands as the

director of the colleges, the demands were not as intensely polar. Because the administration disapproved of several college practices, it shortened the tether of the collegiate director, feeling his loyalty should be to the greater university. Because the colleges felt their autonomy was in serious jeopardy, they did the same. For the other provosts there was not the grave distrust of their faculties by the university, and consequently less of a defensive posture by their faculties. The problem was further exacerbated by the administrative structure of the colleges. Decision-making was participatory. Budget allocation, course approval, acceptance of new collegiate units, dissolution of old units, and the like were decided collectively by the members of a collegiate assembly consisting of representatives of the colleges, the university faculty, the university student government, and the university administration. In that scheme of things, the director was not a leader or authority figure. His role was that of communicator to the outside world. If he did not like a decision, he could resign; but he could not reverse it. In contrast, the position of provost carried with it both authority and leadership potential.

After Pat Smith resigned there was a fracas over who would act as interim director. The vice-president for academic affairs, Bernard Gelbaum, had a candidate and the colleges had a candidate - each unacceptable to the other. In the end, Gelbaum named himself acting director and appointed his candidate assistant to the interim director, granting him all the authority and powers of the director. The vice-president of

academic affairs's response to the vacancy was an attempt to control the colleges and the colleges' response was rebellion. Though the colleges really had little power to disobey, they did have the ability to punish the vice-president and the assistant through grievance procedures, personal attack, and parliamentary abuse. Those methods were employed fully. Sometimes even an army of ants can be lethal.

As compatibility was being forced upon the colleges by Vice-President Gelbaum's seizure of the interim directorship and by the appointment of a faculty-dominated committee to choose the next collegiate director, the collegiate assembly protested. The protest was publicized both in the local and campus media. The media spread the news of the basic incompatibility and the protests made the colleges appear all the more deviant.

Compatibility Issue 2: The Character of the Collegiate Assembly

Compatibility issue 2 focused upon the collegiate assembly's thwarting of the norms, values, and goals of both the colleges most compatible with the university and the faculty representatives to the collegiate assembly. In so doing, it was felt that the collegiate assembly underlined its own incompatibility with the university.

In 1972, there were seventeen collegiate units. For the 72-73 academic year, they shared a budget of $257,148, which was an average of slightly more than $15,000 per college -

not enough to hire one tenured professor in each unit. In subsequent years, the budget increased by more than 50 percent, but that was still insubstantial as the colleges were receiving about one-fifth of the funding of the average department relative to their enrollments (Spectrum, March 30, 1973). College E supplemented its budget with voluntary contributions from its students, and that caused quite a stir in the university.

As might be expected, division of the college budget caused a good deal of tension in the assembly, given an assortment of collegiate units with divergent goals. In the course of growth, three varieties of colleges had developed: residential, thematic, and activist units. Activist colleges were those whose central focus was on community involvement at either the personal or group level. The thematic units were more academic in nature and oriented to concerns that cut across several departments. Residential colleges were living-learning units based in university dormitory facilities. The residential units were the smallest group, being comprised of two colleges: College B and Clifford Furnas College. A residential program was more expensive than a nonresidential program, and given the tightness of the collegiate budget and the small number of units in that category, there was little support for adequately funding them.

In addition to this division by function, there was also an ideological division among the colleges; however, there was a fair degree of similarity in the two divisions. The

activist and a number of the thematic colleges were the more radical groups in the assembly. Some of these units were dominantly student-administered and student-staffed. Furnas College was all faculty and the most educationally and politically conservative of the collegiate units, being modeled after the Oxbridge schools. Most of its program was crosslisted departmental courses. It resembled SUNYAB closely or, more accurately, what SUNYAB would like to have been academically.

The participatory nature of the assembly resulted in the formation of coalition groups. The residential colleges were outnumbered by the nonresidential colleges, and the conservative colleges were outnumbered by the liberal to radical units. Pat Smith commented in 1972 that the collegiate units "are strongly egocentric and in certain areas like residential versus nonresidential, there are irreconcilable differences. It is increasingly difficult to get collaborative cooperation and resource sharing" (Smith, P. 11/26/72).

With time, the nature of participatory governance became increasingly strident and rhetorical. The only certain thing about it was that minority groups like Clifford Furnas College continually lost. Faculty representatives to the collegiate assembly, being a minority, did not have much success either. Their attendance dropped off sharply. Some claimed they left because they could not take the interminable discussions; others said they left because the assembly never did anything; and still others attributed leaving to the profanity

common at assembly meetings. In defense of the assembly, there were those who left because of departmental and career pursuits, as well as those who could not tolerate their powerless situation relative to students, recent graduates, and young non-students in the assembly. A candidate for director described the situation in 1973-74 as follows:

> The operating style of participatory democracy became relatively pompous and byzantine and ideologically radical in a manner which alienated faculty, administration, the community at large, and the mass of students.

The collegiate assembly voted to make faculty representatives, who had full voting rights, non-voting members of the assembly in 1972-73, but that was rejected by the faculty senate college committee. The move was intended both as a statement of autonomy and a sign of indignation against faculty who did not attend meetings.

In Summer 1973, Clifford Furnas College (highly compatible and generally profitable--high enrollments at low cost and thought to be the college that best achieved the purpose for which the colleges were established) was permitted by Vice-President of Academic Affairs Gelbaum to withdraw from the collegiate assembly and report instead to the dean of undergraduate studies. The faculty senate sanctioned this boundary expansion by enclaving arrangement, showing their own disapproval of assembly operations. There was talk of permitting other residential units to do the same. The collegiate assembly again felt its autonomy violated, appealed the decision, and lost.

The secession of Furnas and the possibility of similar action by other units had the effect of removing the more orthodox colleges from the assembly and thereby shifting the balance of the collegiate assembly more in the direction of the deviant stereotype. This would have increased the level of incompatibility of the remaining colleges with the university and, according to the hypothesized model, made boundary contraction more feasible. The philosophy behind such a move might have been that that if the university could not get the colleges to conform, it could take the "good" colleges out and terminate the rest. Complaints by the Collegiate assembly again magnified and spread the basic incompatibility.

Compatibility Issue 3: Academic Freedom

Compatibility issue 3 focused on political tests imposed upon college instructor candidates, which are violations of the tenets of academic freedom. Academic freedom is a buzz word often defended more in theory than in practice; however, it is the bedrock foundation underlying the American university.

In 1972, there were two cases of possible political tests in choosing staff by the colleges. One case involved the alleged rejection of a course on rock music based upon the instructor's political ideology by Social Science College, whose mission was to "bring people together to study radical social theory" (College Catalogue, 1973-74). The other incident involved the refusal to grant credit for a course by a local

newspaper reporter who had actively muckraked the colleges during 1970 university riots. SUNYAB faculty review justified both incidents.

Though the colleges were acquitted of the charges, there remained a lingering doubt. These two incidents proved to many that if the colleges were not flagrant abusers of academic freedom, which some doubted, they certainly were uncommitted and soft on the principle. In fact, doubts about the colleges with respect to academic freedom were voiced by most 1973-74 faculty senators (I randomly interviewed 50 percent of the members) as a rationale for chartering. This was not the chief criticism of the colleges, but it certainly was a common one.

Compatibility Issue 4: Academic Quality of College Courses

Compatibility issue 4 concerned a series of curricular practices employed by the colleges. Under the rubric of experimental courses, the practices included employment of instructors without B.A.'s - not to mention Ph.D.'s, inflated grading, and offering courses of questionable academic substance. Each of these was grossly incompatible with university practices or at least desired university practices.

By 1973-74, regular university faculty constituted only 17 percent of the total teaching staff of the colleges. The remainder consisted of people from the local community, a goodly number of whom were ex-SUNYAB students (48 percent),

graduate students (23 percent), and undergraduates (12 percent). The proportion varied from college to college. For instance, 36 percent of the College F (renamed Tolstoy College) staff consisted of undergraduates, while 54 percent of the colleges used no undergraduate staffers. Vico and Furnas Colleges were 100 percent faculty, while 21 percent of the colleges had no SUNYAB faculty teaching.

With regard to grading, the colleges gave more than twice the percentage of A grades as all other undergraduate courses combined. The university average was 23.2 percent in 1973-74 and the college average was 56.3 percent. Forty-three percent of the colleges gave more than half of their students A's and only 14 percent gave fewer than the university average that year.

With regard to course content, 14 percent of the classes were trial courses which lacked approval from university bodies outside the colleges. Thirty of the forty-four experimental college courses were offered by College E and constituted 55 percent of its program in Spring 1973. Undergraduate Dean Ebert felt that the courses varied in quality from "very acceptable to unadulterated bilge." He was "not convinced that the standards of College E (offering 68 percent of all experimental courses) are acceptable to a degree granting university" (memo from C. V. Ebert, 2/12/73). The chairman-elect of the faculty senate was even more adamant in his opposition. The fact of the matter was that the lack of

university review of college courses was entirely legal and a matter of stated policy. Moreover, the academic departments did far worse in obtaining approval of their own courses, but then again they were not perceived to be as incompatible with the university. The row with the colleges centered on courses like palm reading, Bhakti Yoga, Light Aircraft, Mao Tse Tung Thought, ESP and Hypnosis, Occult Philosophy, and Horror Film. There was a fear which was not entirely unjustified that the colleges, particularly "E," were abusing the experimental course option by retitling trial courses which required approval after one term and repeating them semester after semester without approval.

The practices in the three disputed areas - grades, content, and instructional staff - though incompatible with existing university policies had clearly articulated philosophical rationales underlying them. Within certain colleges such as "E", Progressive Education, and "F", grades were viewed as an obstacle in the development of independent learners, substituting external rewards for internal motivation. Giving all or most students A's left only internal motivation. With regard to instructors, learning was conceived as a process of mutual exploration by student and teacher, not one of an expert dispensing knowledge. For the former activity, a Ph.D. was by no means a requirement. With regard to content, all subjects could be thought of as appropriate to the university. Unfortunately, the university concentrated upon empirically-based cognitive

learning to the detriment of intuitive psychomotor and affective learning. Such views flew in the face of university norms and values. In fact, Robert Ketter, Buffalo's president informed the collegiate assembly that at least one college, the University of Illinois, Chicago, would not accept transfer credit for college courses. And one or more of the incompatible practices subsumed under the topic of experimental courses was mentioned by every faculty senate member interviewed. It was most often the chief criticism of the colleges. Wildly exaggerated claims about college abuses were quite common. For instance, one individual said that most of the college courses were encounter groups and required no reading. Compatibility issue 4 resulted in SUNYAB faculty anger, widespread misunderstandings, and a sense of urgency that something had to be done.

FORMULATING AND PLANNING THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION-TERMINATION OF THE INNOVATION

Around the university the attitude toward the colleges was grim. President Ketter was disgusted. He told several people he was thinking of just ending the colleges. His administrative staff had been busy dreaming up drastic schemes to control them. All of the faculty senators interviewed reported abuses by the colleges in at least one of the four areas of incompatibility. By Summer 1973, the mood of the university was somber.

It was under these conditions that Jonathan Reichert, associate professor of physics, was selected to head the

faculty senate college committee. Reichert had a reputation as an innovator or, rather, a successful institutionalizer of innovation at Case Western Reserve University. He was a charismatic, friendly person, eloquent with a passion for bombast. He had the common mix of liberal perspective on society and moderately conservative outlook on the academy.

Reichert and the faculty senate would plan and formulate the institutionalization of the colleges. Their plan, called a prospectus, was ready for the senate to act upon by January, 1974. The Reichert prospectus, as it was known, was predicated upon boundary contraction by a faculty-dominated committee lacking college membership. Each college had to conform to a set of guidelines. It called for a radical transformation of the colleges, as well as increased external control, but for complying with its terms colleges were being offered greater legitimacy and increased university resources. Reichert felt that only a tough procedure would establish the legitimacy of the innovation in the host university.

The Reichert prospectus which would serve as the college's constitution for 4 years dissolved all of the existing colleges as of January 1975, and offered a procedure whereby the existing colleges could be considered for continuation in the interim. To continue, existing colleges were required to meet certain conditions which would be passed on by the college chartering committee. This newly created committee was charged with creating, renewing, and dissolving collegiate units. It

would consist of six faculty, two undergraduates, one graduate student, one administrator, and two college representatives to be appointed after the colleges were reconstituted. The vice-president of academic affairs, the vice-president of health sciences, the vice-president for student affairs, the dean of undergraduate education, the dean of the colleges, and the chairman of the faculty senate colleges committee were made ex-officio members. All aspirant collegiate units would submit charters to the chartering committee and the committee would decide whether to prove, reject, modify, or delay the charter. The recommendation, which would include a term of three to five years if favorable, would go to the president and dean of the colleges for action. Each charter was to include fourteen specific items which would guide the chartering committee deliberations:

1 - statement of intellectual purpose
2 - statement of educational and pedagogical style
3 - a description of courses
4 - list of personnel and vitas
5 - procedure for choosing future faculty
6 - vita for master
7 - evidence of ample faculty participation
8 - statement of what constitutes affiliation with the colleges, rights, responsibilities, and privileges
9 - procedure for choosing student members
10 - statement of how two representatives would be chosen to a reconstructed collegiate assembly, renamed the collegiate council
11 - statement of how future courses and instructors would be selected and evaluated
12 - statement of budget process and fiscal controls
13 - a description of internal governance
14 - specification of duration of the charter and a statement of what would constitute fair, objective, and practical evaluation at the time the charter was reconsidered

Thirteen of the fourteen items dealt primarily, if not exclusively, with compatibility concerns. Only item 14 could possibly be classified as profitability-oriented. However, its intent was unspecified and could just as easily have been compatibility.

After approval, a college was subject to immediate reconsideration for failure to abide by the approved charter, loss without adequate replacement of key faculty or administrative officers, failure to follow university regulations, or insufficient student interest. Compatibility rationales outnumbered profitability rationales by a ratio of three to one. Only the last item was concerned with profitability, and that involved the evaporation of the need for which a college was created, as guaged by the loss of clientele.

The prospectus identified the characteristics and operating procedures for individual colleges. The chief operating officer or master would have to be a full-time university faculty member or suitably chosen alternative. The position would require at least one-quarter to one-half time service and a commitment of two years. The duties would involve long-range planning, budgeting, hiring of personnel, coordination of program, and effective and democratic governance. Budgeting, personnel, curriculum, and staffing decisions of the individual colleges also required the approval of the dean of the colleges. Colleges could choose any form of internal governance which represented all concerned interests. Substantial participation by regular university faculty was expected. The collegiate budget would

have to include funds for buying release time from departments for their faculty. Community resource people and graduate students would be permitted to join the colleges with the recommendation of the college council, and approval by the dean of the colleges. College courses could be either traditionally or pass-fail graded.

The roles of the dean of the colleges and the collegiate assembly were changed significantly. The dean would have to be at least a tenured associate professor in an established university department. He or she would have authority equivalent to that of a provost and would serve as the principal negotiator for funds and long-range planning with the university administration. The dean would have primary control in disbursement of funds to colleges and workshops or trial program. Further, the dean would appoint college masters, approve college courses, and approve instructors subject to subsequent approval by the appropriate university authority. The dean would also serve on the major university committees and report to the president and vice-president of academic affairs. He or she would make decisions and exercise the powers of office only after consultation with the college council.

The college council would consist of the master and a representative from each college. It would be chaired by the dean of the colleges and the chairperson of the faculty senate college subcommittee would be an ex-officio member. The functions of the council would include advising the dean on all policy

matters; ensuring that each college adheres to its charter; reviewing course proposals, budget requests, and personnel recommendations; and arranging the election of collegiate representatives to the faculty senate. The council could challenge the dean by a two-thirds vote, leaving the matter under dispute to be mediated by the faculty senate college subcommittee.

Every college would have to begin as a workshop and serve a minimum of one semester in that capacity before being considered by the chartering committee for full status. That requirement has waived for existing units. Workshops could be started by any group of faculty or students. They could offer noncredit seminars and other activities. After one semester, a workshop could offer courses for credit following approval by the dean of undergraduate education, but no workshop could exist for more than three semesters.

The Reichert prospectus, provided remedies in each of the four incompatible areas. With regard to compatibility issue 1, the power of the director was increased significantly. He or she became a dean and was given provostal authority. The collegiate assembly was reconstructed and made advisory to the dean. With regard to compatibility issue 2, the reconstitution which made the collegiate assembly at least half faculty also changed the politics of the assembly, which was one of the conditions that led to the cecession of Clifford Furnas College. Furthermore the prospectus also recognized the differences between the residential and nonresidential colleges. With regard

to compatibility issue 3, tougher procedures for course approval were instituted that combined increased external review with reconstitution of the assembly. With regard to compatibility issue 4, difficulties with experimental courses were solved by doing away with experimental courses. Insurance of university-wide standards in courses also revolved about increased external controls. A pass-fail grading option was added. Significant faculty participation was required and new units were not permitted to offer credit courses.

The Reichert prospectus called for a boundary contraction via resocialization mode of institutionalization for the colleges. It was based upon a structural model of what the colleges should look like after they were resocialized. The college charters and supporting documentation were intended to indicate the degree to which the colleges had achieved resocialization. Failure to maintain resocialization would result in immediate revocation of the charter. Members of the Reichert committee indicated that it was possible that individual colleges might be terminated through chartering, but the primary aim of the prospectus was to transform or resocialize the collectivity of colleges, not to eliminate them.

According to the institutionalization-termination model, boundary contraction occurs under conditions of profitability and incompatibility. When given the definition of profitability, members of the Reichert committee indicated that the colleges as a whole were profitable. With regard to compatibility,

numerous college incompatibilities were noted by the interviewees. The committee's belief in the incompatibility of the colleges was also shown in the emphasis upon compatibility in the fourteen items designated for inclusion in the charter, and in the conditions established for revoking a charter. It was further emphasized in the Reichert committee's decision to restructure the colleges in such a manner as to eliminate the four major compatibility issues. In sum, the conditions of profitability and incompability associated with the Reichert committee's decision to resocialize the colleges were those hypothesized in the institutionalization-termination model.

APPROVING AN INSTITUTIONALIZATION-TERMINATION PLAN FOR THE INNOVATION

Needless to say the colleges were upset by the prospectus, particularly fearing the possibility of becoming a faculty clubhouse. Under the prospectus, they would be required to have faculty approval of courses, faculty instructors, faculty masters, and a faculty-dominated council. It was hard for long-time college staffers to accept the fact they were being forced out of the colleges they had kept alive under adverse circumstances by a group that had, at best deserted them in the past. However, students had changed since the late 1960's, a time when they vociferously defended the colleges. In 1974 the number that was willing to go to the barricades was small, In fact, the student body president congratulated Jon Reinchert on a job well done.

The prospectus went to the faculty senate in January, 1974 and was the subject of 4 meeting stretching into March. In the end, the senate made changes in the prospectus, but they were more quantitive than qualitative in nature. Several people interviewed said they voted for the changes as a sign of cooperation or good faith in the colleges. In that sense there was accommodation to some college values, but only in one instance did the accommodation represent a substantive change in the prospectus. By a seven vote margin, each college was permitted to offer 10 percent of its courses on an experimental basis. A motion to increase the percentage to 25 percent was defeated. There were limits to which the senate would permit change. Motions to give the colleges parity with the faculty on the charter committee, to permit workshops to give credit courses, to diminish the planned faculty role in the colleges, and to limit charter revocation to deliberate acts were widely defeated. Similarly, proposals to toughen the prospectus also failed. A motion to increase the planned faculty role met a resounding defeat. The senate did alter the prospectus to permit college representatives to become members of the chartering committee immediately rather than after January 1, 1975. The powers of the dean were moderately increased relative to authorities external to the colleges, such as the dean of undergraduate studies and the vice-president for academic affairs, in approving charters. The members of the chartering committee had to be mutually agreeable to the senate executive committee and the collegiate

assembly. The dean of the colleges was permitted to hire faculty.

Eighty-eight percent of the faculty senators interviewed offered a constructive rationale for preserving the colleges associated either with their original purpose-providing centers of identification for students in a multiversity, or with the need for an experimental enclave in a staid university. In terms of profitability, the colleges were being preserved because they satisfied an organizational need. However, it is important to realize that it was the idea of the colleges that was thought profitable, not their actual operation. The senators, with two exceptions, said they wanted to continue the colleges. The condition of general profitability provided the rationale. At the same time, all of the faculty felt that the colleges as presently constituted needed to change. Even an individual who actively led the floor fight to liberalize the prospectus classified the colleges as "fuzzy" and said they needed to be shaken up. In his opinion, the liberalization was necessary only to insure flexibility after the chartering. Interestingly, 55 percent of the senators said they would not vote to abolish an academic unit until it proved it was worthy of elimination. This is synonymous with an innocent until proven guilty stance, which goes a long way toward showing why universities have grown by adding new divisions and programs rather than by substituting the new for the old.

President Ketter approved the new prospectus in early April with three caveats. The first adjusted the prospectus

to existing university policies or norms. The second made the arrangements of chartering unique to the college situation, so that existing mechanisms rather than ad hoc arrangements would be the procedure to follow in the future. The third made the senate dominant over the collegiate assembly in the chartering process, showing Ketter's commitment to a basic change in the colleges.

The faculty senate and President Ketter approved a plan to reinstitutionalize the colleges by boundary contraction via resocialization. The senators interviewed indicated that the colleges were incompatible with the shared orientations of the university, but generally profitable. These are the hypothesized conditions for boundary contraction via resocialization.

IMPLEMENTING AN INSTITUTIONALIZATION-TERMINATION PLAN FOR THE INNOVATION

By the end of April, the chartering committee held its first meeting. A very simple but time-consuming procedure was developed for committee operations. The committee was divided into subcommittees, each with the responsibility of working with two to three assigned colleges. Each college would submit a charter with appropriate supporting documents which the subcommittee would review in detail. Comments would be solicited from interested parties around the university and the community at large. An open hearing would be held for each college. The hearing would last a maximum of 3-1/2 hours: 1-1/4 hours for

a college presentation, 1 hour for charter committee questions, and the remainder of the time for public discussion. The charter committee was required to submit its questions in advance. Colleges could defer questions subsequently formulated. After each hearing, the chartering committee would discuss the college. After all of the hearings and discussion sessions, the committee would make decisions on the fate of each of the colleges, writing one or more recommendations to President Ketter. In August, 1974 the committee began accepting charters, and submitted its recommendations just prior to Thanksgiving.

Charter committee planning was highly formalized and emphasized procedure rather than substance. The committee drafted all kinds of procedures: charter committee rules and regulations, guidelines for applying for a charter, special rules for public hearings. The reason for all of that was the political nature and the political divisions of the committee. There was no consensus on what a college should be or how one would recognize excellence in a collegiate unit. In many respects, the committee appeared more divided than the university. And that would be expected, as the chartering committee was designed to represent the most diverse elements of the SUNYAB community in microcosm. As a result, the committee was only able to plan in terms of procedures to be followed. Formality was necessary to guard the anti-college and pro-college factions against abuse by the other. This entailed spelling out agreed-upon procedures in the minutest detail.

The attitude of the colleges toward chartering varied from a view of the process as a nuisance to a view of the process as an inquisition. The colleges whose practices varied most widely from those of the university consistently described it as an inquisition while the colleges most consistent with the prospectus guidelines - Clifford Furnas and Vico Colleges - hoped chartering would result in a termination of the more radical and incompatible colleges, leaving them more of the university's resources and a better reputation around SUNYAB.

The nature of the changes and the time commitment required to conform with the prospectus were so great for some colleges that they considered self-termination or moving outside the university. That was true of Women's Studies College, New College of Modern Education, and College Z. In the end, only College Z chose not to go through the chartering process. The "Z" program was strong and considered so around the university, consequently several of its leaders felt the lack of legitimacy resulting in constant reevaluation and lack of funding troublesome, laborious, and uncalled for. The chartering requirement was the straw that broke the camel's back. The leaders were a mobile group who had other interests and could make out well or better following other pursuits, so they chose not to participate in chartering. They felt the remaining segment of the college at odds with their view of its purpose and not worthy of continuing, so they made sure the college closed.

In the case of College Z, a college which was incompatible with the prospectus chose to give up rather than comply.

Two indications of its incompatibility were that "Z" had no faculty teaching courses in 1973-74, and gave over 60 percent of its students A grades. The college had been praised by people all over the university, and its loss was lamented by even Jon Reichert. Several Buffalo administrators, as well as charter committee members familiar with College Z, indicated that the college was profitable to the university because it offered a preprofessional program which students wanted - as indicated by high enrollments - in an area in which there were jobs. It also brought professionals back to the university for retooling in a time of tight enrollments and was popular in the local community. So College Z fit into the mold of being incompatible, but profitable. The compatibility could easily have been remedied, as several university faculty offered to participate in the college. But for the leaders of "Z" the association with the university had become unprofitable and they closed up shop. Because that was not true of Women's Studies College or New College of Modern Education, they chose to go through chartering.

The experience of College Z represents a refinement in the hypothesized institutionalization-termination model. Boundary contraction via termination, like all modes of institutionalization-termination, was postulated to be entirely a host decision. "Z's" decision to voluntarily terminate shows that an innovation may itself choose institutionalization-termination by boundary contraction via termination. The innovation would be unable to self-select any other mode of institutionalization,

since all others involve at least tacit consent or interaction with the host.

The remaining segment of "Z" merged with C. P. Snow College, which had been reconstituted, and became the College of Urban Studies. Several units merged. Communications College, which had no university faculty on its staff, became part of College L. Rachel Carson College merged with an interdisciplinary graduate colloquium. Rachel Carson College had only five faculty out of a staff of eighteen and had on occasion been accused of being activist to the extent of divorcing itself from scholarship. The graduate group, named the George Perkins Marsh Program, dealt with modern societies and international development. It had a core of dedicated faculty, but no money or undergraduate students to teach. Rachel Carson College had some of each of the missing elements.

Merger permitted colleges which were incompatible with the prospectus to become compatible, and permitted strong programs to become stronger. For Communications College, there were no university faculty in its subject area. By becoming a subpart of "B," a college with a faculty, Communications College was able to maintain its integrity. For "B," an arts college, the addition of Communications College was a useful gain. The George Perkins Marsh Program could not itself have become a college since only established colleges were permitted to charter by the Reichert prospectus. By becoming a subpart of Rachel Carson College, chartering was made possible. For Rachel Carson

college, merger saved the time and energy of recruiting faculty, which might have been difficult given previous conflicts with several science departments. For the remainder of "Z," which lacked faculty, it was too late to regroup and charter by the time the college fell apart, so joining Urban Studies permitted them to continue. For Urban Studies, like College B, the addition represented a coherent program in its subject area with a budget.

Three colleges radically transformed themselves to meet the chartering requirements. These included College E, New College of Modern Education, and C. P. Snow College. All were grossly incompatible with the prospectus. "E" had two faculty out of a staff of fifty-nine, New College had no faculty, and Snow had one faculty member. In terms of grades, the percentage of A's awarded varied from about 60 percent to 75 percent. Each of the colleges had a high turnover in personnel after the passage of the Reichert prospectus. The turnover occurred because staff were tired of fighting for continued existence or feared their college would not get through the chartering process. Some of the people who left were specifically mentioned by university faculty or administrators as the college's source of incompatibility with the university. College E became a College of the Poor named after a Black woman, Cora P. Maloney. Many of the old "E" people who wanted to stay around found the transformed college unpleasant for their tastes or were encouraged to leave. The number of faculty associated with the college increased to nine. New College became the College of Progressive

Education, very few old staffers remained, and seven faculty joined the college. Governance was placed entirely in the hands of a faculty board. C. P. Snow, which became the College of Urban Studies, narrowed its mission and acquired thirteen faculty members.

Radical transformation was a mechanism chosen by incompatible colleges after many staff members left. Unlike College Z, in these three cases a sufficient core remained or was able to be formed to sustain the college. For surviving members, chartering was carried out because it was felt that an important mission could be continued or because of salaries or rewards that would otherwise have been lost. For the survivors, continued participation in the college was based on profitability considerations of either an abstract or personal variety.

The remaining colleges changed in varying degrees. Two colleges incompatible with the prospectus attempted to remain substantially as they were before chartering was approved. They were Tolstoy College (College F) and Women's Studies College. The program at "F" was eclectic and its reputation of past years was the worst. Subject areas in 1974 varied from education and community to male sex roles, gayness, and Polish culture. Despite frequent changes in subject matter, an orientation toward anarchism remained constant. The method of study was inductive; beginning with individual experience, elements of repression and oppression would emerge and the student would eventually arrive at an anarchistic solution. The college staff argued that means

were as important as ends, and decided to present the college to the chartering committee as it was. "F" sought to make cosmetic changes designed to comply with the letter of the prospectus, but not the spirit. A faculty master was appointed who would serve as "a cross between a constitutional monarch and a prime minister." Faculty were increased from one to eight, but it was felt most would not be involved in policy discussions.

Women's Studies College evolved a collective governance procedure which violated the prospectus in several ways, but, like "F," means were integrally associated with ends for the college. Women had to shape their own educations. The governance procedure, which was collective and involved two nonfaculty chairpersons was part of the shaping process, as was the need to exclude men from several courses. In other respects, Women's Studies College complied with the charter requirements. Faculty involvement grew from four to nine, though there was little effort to recruit faculty. For both Tolstoy and Women's Studies, compliance with the prospectus would have been unprofitable for the colleges.

Two of the colleges changed very little. Clifford Furnas and Vico Colleges were both already compatible with the prospectus. Only 32.5 percent of the Furnas grades were A's, and only 22 percent of the Vico grades were A's. Their teaching staffs were 100 percent SUNYAB faculty. These were the only two colleges that had active faculty masters prior to the prospectus, and most of the colleges' courses were cross-listed with

departments. Nonetheless, each of the colleges increased the number of faculty involved and formalized governance procedures.

Those two changes were made by all of the remaining colleges as well, including College B, Math Sciences College, College H, and Social Sciences College. These colleges differed from Clifford Furnas and Vico in that they expended more energy in seeking to comply with the prospectus. With the exception of Social Sciences College, they really did not need to change that much. "B" (42.9 percent) and Math Sciences (63.6 percent) already had significant proportions of their staff composed of SUNYAB faculty. Although more than 50 percent of "H's" staff was composed of community people, they had acceptable credentials. Social Sciences, which gave 58 percent of its grades as A and had only 7.5 percent of its staff composed of faculty, reorganized in grand style to meet the prospectus requirements. The number of Buffalo faculty increased from two to seven. These four colleges found that conforming to the prospectus would be more profitable than attempting to fight the prospectus or closing down. In three of the four cases it was because the changes were relatively minor. The fourth college, Social Sciences, feared that its previously bad reputation within the university was sufficient to scuttle the college if it did not change.

Despite differences in approaches chosen by different colleges, there were similarities. The most important similarity was that all of the colleges except "Z" resocialized themselves to some degree in order to comply or appear to comply with the

Reichert prospectus. Twelve of the fourteen appointed SUNYAB faculty as masters. Math Sciences appointed an advanced doctoral student as the administrative officer, but he was directly responsible to a faculty board. Women's Studies College was the only unit that violated the prospectus with regard to a master. As one dominant figure would have been inconsistent with the notion of collectivity, two individuals were appointed to coordinator positions in contravention of the prospectus.

All of the colleges, with the possible exception of Women's Studies College, formalized their administrative procedures. Women's Studies already had a highly formalized operating procedure. What had once been satisfactory informal governing mechanisms, membership requirements, member's rights, and the like were formalized to comply with the prospectus. Very often these changes were to the detriment of an existing collegial atmosphere. In most cases they were down right fabrications or illusory changes. The changes did make the colleges appear more like the university. Formalization caused many charter readers to remark that the colleges had changed into pale departmental copies. The charters seemed very much alike in part because the content was so specifically spelled out; and in part because the documents were politically designed to gain the approval of the chartering committee and the president. As a result, more than half of the individuals who read the charters remarked upon the difficulty in remembering which charter was which.

Each collegiate unit added additional SUNYAB faculty

to its roster. The number of faculty associated with the colleges rose from less than 25 to more than 125. Nearly all of the faculty senators interviewed mentioned the need to get more faculty or faculty influence into the colleges. Several said that was the primary purpose for chartering. In the end, as was intended by the Reichert prospectus, that was the way chartering seemed to have been most successful. The increased involvement of faculty in the colleges represented diffusion of the innovation into the rest of the university. Diffusion was defined earlier as the spread of an innovation through the university. A cross-section of college faculty were interviewed in order to understand why diffusion occurred.

First, it was found that faculty tended to choose colleges consistent with their interests and lifestyle, so there was compatibility. Interestingly, the less compatible colleges, which utilmately attracted smaller numbers of faculty, anticipated this, feeling they would find no recruits and be forced out of existence. Some thought that was the goal of the chartering procedure. Several faculty said they joined because their department encouraged them to in order to increase the department's enrollments. Some faculty joined because the colleges offered subject matters or colleagues absent in their own departments. Other faculty said they joined because they felt flattered or needed when asked by a college to participate. Each of the rationales represented a form of self-interest profitability - that which would motivate an individual or subunit to adopt the innovation.

As postulated in the institutionalization-termination model, diffusion occurred under conditions of compatibility and self-interest profitability. In this instance, self-interest profitability was weak. The rewards and incentives for participating in departments were much stronger. That is why nearly all of the faculty said that college involvement was subordinated to departmental activities and why they often remained at the periphery of the colleges.

The Colleges, the Chartering Committee, and the President

The chartering committee had the option of choosing either of two positions in evaluating the colleges. It might have rendered judgments on the success of the colleges in meeting the prospectus requirements, which would have been summative evaluation; or it might have attempted to raise each of the colleges to a level of success necessary to satisfy the prospectus, which would have been formative evaluation. The committee followed the latter course. It did not specifically choose that course, but rather its character gravitated in that direction. All members of the committee said they grew continually more impressed with the colleges as the committee progressed. They also thought the colleges satisfied an important campus need, which was profitability. In addition, fifteen members of the committee showed an inclination like that of the faculty senate for a philosophy of innocent until proven guilty. A college had to prove to the committee it was unfit in order to be terminated.

President Ketter was also inclined to such an outlook. In any case, the combination of favorable attitude and philosophy favoring continuance of the colleges resulted in the formative character of the chartering committee. It was a committee with a penchant more toward resocialization than termination, which would be expected in view of the generalized belief in college profitability. The new dean of the colleges, Irving Spitzberg, because he was of the colleges and perceived by the committee as also of the university, was permitted to act as an intermediary between the committee and the colleges. At times Spitzberg; a bright, confident 32 year old lawyer with credentials from Columbia, Yale, and Oxford; and experience teaching at Brown University and the Claremont Colleges; informed a college of the committee's attitude and the appropriate response; at times he negotiated with a college on behalf of the committee.

In the public and its private sessions, the chartering committee developed three unspecified criteria for compatibility: (1) a college had to conform to the prospectus, (2) a college had to have a positive attitude toward chartering, and (3) a college had to have had a good past history. The criteria for profitability was that a college had to fill a university need. This was primarily evidenced by demonstrating the need, establishing the uniqueness of the college program, having substantial enrollments, and having a large attendance at the public hearing. A secondary form of profitability involved more effectively satisfying generalized university needs than other existing

mechanisms. That might involve bringing outside funding to the university or enhancing the SUNYAB reputation nationally.

Each of the colleges fared differently on the criteria associated with compatibility and profitability. The following table summarizes the individual college evaluations by the chartering committee. (I interviewed every member and observed their meetings.) "+" equals positive performance; "0" equals neutral or uncertain performance; "-" equals negative performance; and multiple signs equal exceptional performance. The compatibility total is a summary of the net valence of positive and negative factors associated with any one college. It offers a sense of the ambience of the college, not a summary measure of its compatibility. The different indicators were certainly not of the same importance, given that almost half of the charter committee's public hearing questions dealt with compliance to the prospectus. The other two compatibility considerations - prior history and attitude toward chartering - were more indicators of the degree to which a college could be believed and the vigor with which evaluation should be pursued. There were only two colleges - Furnas and Women's Studies - which did not satisfy the letter of the prospectus, and those colleges had complied with the substance. Interestingly, the colleges whose ratings were "0" met the letter, but there were doubts about their substantive satisfaction.

TABLE ONE

College Compatibility and Profitability Ratings

	Compatibility				Profitability
	prior history	attitude toward chartering	meeting prospectus requirements	TOTAL	
COLLEGE B	+	+	+	3+	+
CLIFFORD FURNAS	++	0	-	+	++
COLLEGE H	+	0	+	2+	+
C. P. MALONEY	0	+	0	+	+
MATH SCIENCES	+	0	+	2+	+
URBAN STUDIES	0	0	+	+	+
PROGRESSIVE ED.	-	0	0	-	-
RACHEL CARSON	+	0	+	2+	+
SOCIAL SCIENCES	-	0	0	-	+
TOLSTOY	-	-	0	2-	+
VICO	++	-	+	2+	+
WOMEN'S STUDIES	0	-	-	2-	++

With this background, the chartering committee made its decisions and the nonvoting members wrote recommendations to the president. President Ketter read the recommendations and documentation on the colleges, which consisted of thirteen plump loosel ead binders, accepted letters from inside and outside the university; and then initiated a second miniature version of the chartering committee proceedings with a group of his core advisors and the dean of the colleges. The procedure was a step removed from the colleges so that they would be unable to interfere.

53.

It occurred because the chartering committee had a soft image. It also occurred because the President really could not believe the colleges had changed as much as the committee said they had. At the Ketter sessions the same subjects, questions, and concerns raised in the chartering committee were reaired, though more candidly and overtly. In the end, President Ketter took the same position as the chartering committee, but combined it with shorter charter durations and interim evaluations for most units. External controls were again imposed rather than a less accepting mode of institutionalization. Units of dubious compatibility were given a shorter tether rather than being terminated. Dubious in this instance referred to units that complied with the letter of the prospectus, but were thought to have missed the spirit. The questions that arose with dubious colleges were with regard to credibility, not substance.

Ketter's verdicts fell into three categories, all involving boundary contraction: (1) resocialization approved - the manner in which a college was resocialized was accepted; (2) resocialization negotiated - an acceptable form of resocialization was arranged via active negotiation between the host and the innovation. The innovation was not as instrumental in setting the criteria for its resocialization under "resocialization approved;" (3) termination - the innovation was not permitted to continue.

TABLE TWO

Resocialization Approved

	compatibility	profitability
three-year charter		
College B	3+	+
three-year charter with review of specific practice in eighteen months		
College H	2+	+
Mathematical Sciences College	2+	+
Rachel Carson College	2+	+
Vico College	2+	+
three-year charter with in toto review in eighteen months		
Cora P. Maloney College	+	+
College of Urban Studies	+	+
two-year charter with in toto review in twelve months		
Social Science College	-	+
two-year charter with in toto review in twelve months and redraft charter		
College F (Tolstoy College)	2-	+

The compatibility and profitability scores were taken from Table One. As hypothesized, the decisions showed that both profitability and compatibility (at least to the letter of the prospectus) were required for approval of resocialization. Though the compatibility scores of Social Sciences and Tolstoy Colleges appear negative on Chart Two, both were shown to have complied with the letter of the Reichert prospectus, which is to say that neither was found to be incompatible with the norms, values, and goals of SUNYAB. Successful resocialization as measured by approval meant that a college had to retain its profitability and eliminate its previous incompatibility. A college did not have to prove it was compatible, only that it was not incompatible. The greater the compatibility total, the longer the charter duration and the fewer the external controls imposed in the post-chartering period. Marginally compatible units in this atmosphere of innocent-until-proven-guilty were accepted as resocialized for limited periods and under tight scrutiny.

The fact that Social Sciences College and College F were approved as resocialized showed that the emphasis of the chartering process was upon selecting out the colleges that had definitely not met the demands of the prospectus, as opposed to screening in those that definitely had met the demands of the prospectus. The latter is a more rigorous procedure that would be expected of a summative evaluation emphasizing termination. The former is indicative of a formative evaluation emphasizing resocialization. This is not to say that Social

Science College and College F were not scrutinized closely. College F which had the lowest rating on total compatibility of all colleges as revealed in Chart One, was examined more vigorously than any other college. No other college had three hearings. In contrast, College B - with the highest compatibility total rating - was barely discussed by the president or the chartering committee, and was rushed through the proceedings in a hail of praise. College F's negative "attitude toward chartering" and negative "past history" caused it to be evaluated far more painstakingly than Cora P. Maloney College, which had the same rating on "meeting the prospectus requirements." Social Sciences College, which had a negative rating only on "past history" was also treated more harshly than Cora P Maloney, though better than "F" despite the same rating on "meeting the prospectus requirements."

TABLE THREE

TERMINATION

	compatibility	profitability
College of Progressive Education	0	-

As hypothesized in the institutionalization-termination model, the conditions of unprofitability and dubious or marginal compatibility resulted in the termination of a college. Progressive Education was marginal in compatibility in the same way that Social Sciences College and College F were. The difference between the colleges was that Progressive Education was also unprofitable

according to reports by the chartering committee members. Enrollment was low and an academic department was planning to offer a similar program. As a result, it would appear that unprofitability would be the important element in termination.

TABLE FOUR

RESOCIALIZATION NEGOTIATED

	compatibility	profitability
Women's Studies College	2-	++
Clifford Furnas College	+	++

Units that were exceptionally profitable were given leeway with regard to departures from the prospectus. The terms of compatibility were more flexible and determined more by the college, but the substance of the prospectus still had to be satisfied. Unlike the other colleges, Clifford Furnas was given until Fall 1975 to join the collegiate council, which began in January; and Women's Studies was allowed to have two non-Ph.D.'s head its college, providing one was titled administrative officer. Initially, Women's Studies courses were permitted to exclude men if that was approved by the division of undergraduate education. A resolution procedure rather than a definitive policy was offered. By Fall 1975, all Women's Studies courses were opened to men. A demand that Women's Studies College redraft its charter was changed to a demand that it clarify the use of women as a generic term. The debate between the president's office and Women's

Studies has continued with periodic threats to terminate the college. As such, it appears that unwillingness to become compatible leads to termination. This should not be construed as inconsistent with the institutionalization-termination model. Members of the chartering committee who thought Women's Studies was profitable were asked: if the college refused to adopt the changes required, would it still be profitable? The majority answer, with three understandable exceptions, was no. The rationale was that so much time and energy would be spent in keeping the college in line that it just would not be worth having. Extreme incompatibility and unwillingness to adhere to prescribed directions for becoming compatible result in unprofitability, in that the deviating innovation begins to draw too heavily on scarce institutional resources.

EPILOGUE

When all the dust settled, Jonathan Reichert was the big winner. In Spring 1975, he was elected chairman of the faculty senate. Reichert was rewarded by his colleagues for personally ending collegiate incompatibility.

The rewards for having stopped being incompatible were far less. Almost a sixth of the faculty senate interviewees unsolicitedly expressed doubts about the degree to which the colleges had actually changed and the rigor of the chartering committee. One voting member of the chartering committee wrote to the president describing the inadequacies of the colleges, the

chartering committee, and the chartering process. The president, other administrative officers, and several nonvoting members of the committee also expressed doubts about the process and its outcomes. There was a big difference between being permitted to continue existing in the university, not being terminated, and being accorded autonomy and thought a legitimate and integral part of the university. The colleges would have to earn that. Until that time they could certainly not expect the promised resources: merit money and tenure for staff, increased budgets, release time for a large portion of faculty from their departments, etc. Dickering with departments for release time for the masters was a major chore. The colleges were made by the university to haggle with the student government over dormitory space during Summer 1975.

The situation came to a head in Spring 1975, when New York State retrenchment in higher education resulted in a multi-million dollar cut in the Buffalo budget. That, combined with an 8 percent inflation rate, meant a momentous budget reduction to the university. The faculty union asked that the colleges' budget be cut before academic departments had their's cut. A special administrative budget-cutting committee created to deal with the crisis initially recommended that the college budget be cut by $200,000 to save departmental faculty. The vice-president of academic affairs refused such a drastic cut and instead reduced the college budget by $25,000, or 6 percent. In contrast, the academic faculty cut the most was Social Sciences, which lost

only 2 percent of its budget. To get extra resources under these conditions the colleges would have tp prove they were better than existing academic departments. The colleges transformed themselves with the promise of a greater portion of university resources. For their efforts they got little more than survival.

CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSIONS: WHY INNOVATIONS FAIL

The aim of this paper was to discover why innovations fail. Toward that end, a model of the institutionalization-termination process of innovation was applied in a study of "The Colleges" at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The task of this chapter is to interpret the findings of that study.

The institutionalization-termination model was shown to be accurate.[3/] Each of the four models of institutionalization-termination occurred at Buffalo, and the conditions of profitability and compatibility postulated for each were shown to be correct. Boundary expansion via diffusion, as illustrated in the increasing participation of SUNYAB faculty in the colleges, occurred under conditions of compatibility and self-interest profitability. Boundary expansion via enclaving, the mode by which Clifford Furnas College operated after seceding from the collegiate assembly, occurred when the innovation was compatible and generally profitable. Boundary contraction via resocialization, the rationale for chartering, occurred under conditions of profitability and incompatibility. Boundary contraction via termination, the way in which the College of Progressive Education was institutionalized, occurred when the innovation was unprofitable and incompatible. It is likely that it would occur under conditions of compatibility and unprofitability, as unprofitability was shown

to be the key determinant. No other forms of boundary expansion or boundary contraction were discovered, nor were alternatives to boundary expansion and boundary contraction.

According to the model, innovation failure would be defined as a premature decline in the planned level of impact or influence of an innovation on the host university or organization. Some innovations, such as compensatory education programs, are planned only as innovative enclaves. There is never any intention of diffusing the innovation. Other innovations, like the colleges at Buffalo, are intended for diffusion. Enclaving for them represented a decline in status. As originally conceived by Martin Meyerson and Robert Ketter, the colleges were to be a dominant feature of the university. That never occurred. All of this is to say that the position an innovation holds can only be judged successful or unsuccessful relative to its planned goals. On the other hand, no innovation is created with the hope of boundary contraction - resocialization or termination. If termination is planned, it is a goal only after the innovation has done its work. Under other circumstances, termination would be considered premature or a sign of failure. The two modes of boundary contraction would then normally represent a decline in status for an innovation.

The range of possibilities for an innovation -- from extreme boundary expansion to extreme boundary contraction - represents a continuum from total diffusion to complete termination. Termination, resocialization, enclaving, and diffusion

are ideal types or points on the continuum, varying from substantial impact by the innovation on the host to substantial impact on the innovation by the host. The emphasis in boundary expansion is upon impact by the innovation on the host while boundary contraction concentrates upon host impact on the innovation.

Movement down the continuum always constitutes failure if it occurs before the innovation has accomplished its purpose. Passage of an innovation downward in institutionalization-termination stages involves an institution-wide decision and is marked by a formal degradation ceremony. After the Reichert prospectus, which was a sign of downward movement, the colleges were made to go through a public hearing which bore a certain similarity to a criminal court proceeding, while the chartering committee and presidential review were not dissimilar from juries and parole boards. In any case, the colleges were forced to acknowledge the fact that they had done wrong, understood this, and promised in the future to lead a virtuous life. This follows from the description of boundary contraction in chapter 1.

In contrast, passage upward from institutionalization-termination stage-to-stage is informal and occurs in an administrative unit by administrative unit and person-by-person fashion. That was true in diffusion of the colleges among SUNYAB faculty and departments. Should the colleges rise from their current resocialized position to one of boundary expansion via enclaving, this would involve simply a change in attitude by individuals and departments regarding profitability, not a formal ceremony.

With three factors in mind - the definition of failure, that institutionalization-termination is a continuum, and that premature movement down the continuum represents failure - the question of why an innovation fails can now be answered. Failure results from an innovation's decline in profitability, compatibility, or both. Compatibility was previously defined as the degree of congruence between the shared orientations - norms, values, and goals - of an innovation and its host. Indicators of compatibility were found to be the attitude of the innovation toward the host, the past history of the innovation and the actual congruence of the innovation and host norms, values, and goals. The first two indicators are fudge factors which determine the degree of examination and amount of suspicion and distrust appropriate in evaluating the innovation's compatibility with its host.

Profitability was previously defined as the degree to which an innovation satisfies the organizational, group, and personal needs of the host. Several different indicators of profitability were discovered. There are two forms of self-interest profitability: that satisfying organizational subunit needs such as increasing departmental enrollments; and that satisfying individual needs such as money, affiliation, or the desire for colleagues or subject matters outside the ken of a faculty member's department. Two forms of general profitability also exist: positive and negative profitability. Negative general profitability exists when it is desirable to continue an innovation because treating it in any

other manner would undermine already satisfied organizational needs. The likelihood of arson and campus unrest were a source of negative profitability for the college in 1970. Positive general profitability exists when an innovation is desirable in itself, and that is a stronger form of profitability. Indicators include enrollments, enthusiasm, uniqueness, reputation off-campus, outside funding, and demonstrated need.

Compatibility is a screen for measuring the organizational inappropriateness and dissatisfaction related to boundary change associated with an innovation. Profitability is a measure of the satisfaction and effectiveness of an innovation in meeting organizational needs. A decline in compatibility means that an innovation has become less appropriate and more unsatisfactory for the host. Similarly, a decline in profitability indicates that an innovation is less satisfactory and less effective.

Compatibility and profitability are the twin wheels that run the institutionalization-termination model. As compatibility declines, innovations move from boundary expansion to boundary contraction, specifically resocialization. Under normal circumstances resocialization is that brand of boundary contraction reserved for dealing with incompatibility. An innovation which attempts to serve as an alternative to the host rather than a supplement would always be extremely incompatible. Refusal to become a supplement would constitute unwillingness to become compatible. The members of College E, that preceded Cora P. Maloney College, sought to create a college which would serve as

an alternative to the university. They realized that failure to become a supplement to the university would mean termination, so many key staffers left. The same was true of the College of Modern Education. Extreme incompatibility and unwillingness to become more compatible means that the host university is required to spend a good deal of time attempting to curb "inappropriate" behavior by the innovation. Curbing the innovation begins to take so much time that the host organization is unable to satisfy its more basic needs, which makes the innovation unprofitable and termination is the result. In such instances, unprofitability is the cause of termination; incompatibility is only an indirect cause. The negotiations between Women's Studies College and President Ketter ebbed back and forth. Women's Studies College rewrote its charter in early Summer 1975, but not to the satisfaction of the president. He felt that the charter was incompatible and that the college was getting to be too much trouble, so he refused to sign the charter - which amounted to termination. Fortunately for Women's Studies College, it was very strong in the profitability realm and that saved it from termination and allowed instead a resumption of negotiations of the college's future. The basic facts in the case point to a link between profitability and compatibility, such that when an innovation becomes too incompatible it then becomes unprofitable.

A decline in profitability, like a decline in compatibility, moves an innovation from boundary expansion to boundary contraction, except that unprofitability results in termination

rather than resocialization. Termination is the variety of boundary contraction associated with unprofitability. Profitability would seem to be more important than compatibility in innovation success. This is not surprising in that it is easier to eliminate the dissatisfaction associated with incompatibility than to generate the satisfaction associated with profitability. The importance of profitability is shown in that the colleges at SUNYAB with high profitability were given greater latitude with regard to compatibility than less profitable colleges. This is especially interesting in that it occurred during boundary contraction via resocialization, which is concerned chiefly with compatibility. The importance of profitability is perhaps best underlined by the behavior of SUNYAB faculty. Faculty chose to participate more heavily in departments than the colleges because departments were more profitable. This was true even of faculty members who felt the colleges more compatible with their personal lifestyles than their departments. Profitability is of concern to both the innovation and the university. As was indicated, an innovation must be profitable to the host, but the host must also be profitable to the innovation. For example, the College of Progressive Education was terminated by the host for being unprofitable while College Z decided to terminate itself because it found the host unprofitable. Similarly, many old college people left their colleges because they felt continuing a relationship with the host to be unprofitable. A reciprocal relationship between the host and the innovation was not found for compatibility, however.

FOOTNOTES

1. This study has been a wonderful exercise in learning how nice people can be. Of the hundreds of persons I asked for assistance, not one refused to help. Space permits me to mention only a relatively few, but I am grateful to each and every one of the generous people who helped me. I wanted to extend a special thanks to Michael Farrell, Linda Fentiman, JB Hefferlin, Walter Hobbs, Robert Ketter, Katherine Levine, Meyer Levine, Thea Levine, Lionel Lewis, Diane Marlinski, Marilynn Quan, Jonathan Reichert, Irving Spitzberg, and Claude Welch.

2. This case study is based upon interviews, observations, and analysis of documents. 132 people were formally interviewed including 67 college staff and students, 12 SUNYAB administrators, 89 university faculty, and 6 graduate and undergraduate student association members. 50% of the 96 member 1973-74 faculty senate was interviewed; all of the members of the chartering committee were interviewed and the committee's activities were observed; the president of the university and his advisors were observed and many were interviewed; and key individuals involved in the chartering of each college were interviewed and the activities of the colleges observed. Documentation included faculty senate minutes and tape recordings of meetings; faculty senate, chartering committee, and college reports, minutes, correspondence, proposals, statements of procedure; and charges; college charters and supporting documentation; the president's correspondence and reports; a demographic study of each of the 14 colleges; and local and university newspapers.

3. The reader should bear in mind that these conclusions are based on a single case-study. Accordingly it is possible that the model is an accurate descriptor in only this one instance. Furthermore, it is also possible that there are exceptions to the model though none were found in this study.

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To: Dr. R. F. Bunn, Vice President for Academic Affairs, SUNYAB

From: The External Evaluating Committee for the Colleges: Daniel Arnaud, Alberta Arthurs and B. S. Chandrasekhar, Chairman.

June, 1978

I. Introduction

We have prepared this report in response to your memorandum to us of May 2, 1978. We have touched all the points raised in that memorandum, though not necessarily in the same order. The task set us was large and complex; the time available all too short. We acknowledge gratefully the cordiality and cooperation of everyone from the University who was involved in our work. They made our visit not only informative but pleasant.

We studied the voluminous documentation supplied to us, and had intensive meetings with well over a hundred people during our two days on campus. We cannot pretend that we have therefore achieved a complete understanding of the complex history and present circumstances of the Colleges. We found, nevertheless, that the three of us were able to agree on a number of impressions and conclusions, and we present them below.

II. The Colleges as Residential Units

While there are many special opportunities for an undergraduate in a research-oriented university, there can also be problems: feelings of anonymity, and remoteness from the faculty, are two. The residential Colleges appear to ameliorate some of these problems. A significant number of the students who live in University housing are in the Colleges, and the students who spoke to us were generally pleased with this aspect of their life in the University. We became aware of the strong sense of community resulting from College participation. Though the quality of that sense of community perhaps

varied from college to college, it was based in all the Colleges on cooperation and on the sharing of activities and programs. We would suggest, however, that this sense of community could be enhanced by an attempt better to define each college physically and architecturally within the Elliott complex.

III. The Colleges as Academic Units

In this, more than in any other respect, we were struck by the extraordinary diversity of the Colleges. We mention a few examples. Tolstoy is attempting, to quote a phrase from our charge, "to play the role of gadfly concerning the operation of the University in society." Vico, at another extreme, is trying to reestablish certain classic elements which were once an important part of a liberal education, but which have lately fallen into disfavor. Rachel Carson is concerned with environmental assaults on our bodies; College B cares about the artistic and aesthetic sustenance of our minds. International affairs, applied mathematics, urban problems, minorities, health care----all are subjects for the Collegiate programs. There is even the College which simply says of itself, "Diversity is the Byword." The Colleges offer courses, carry out projects, and present special programs in keeping with their themes.

We heard the concern expressed throughout the University that there should be no duplication of efforts emanating from different parts of the University. Such a concern is understandable; the matter of duplication is a vexing one in all universities. We agreed, however, that Buffalo should view duplication as a problem for the University as a whole, rather than as a problem for the Colleges alone. We did not feel that the Colleges in particular were compounding duplication.

We were not able to ascertain at first hand the quality of College courses. We note, however, that the approval of a proposed College course involves review within the Collegiate structure, followed by the review to which all other undergraduate courses are also subject. We note further that a certain number of courses are born in the Colleges and then become adopted by academic departments. Collegiate grading policies are being watched. If there is still anxiety about these matters, as there was some years ago, then one may have to seek the causes here too in the University as a whole rather than within the Colleges alone.

As the most general principle, we would encourage greater participation by university faculty in the academic life of the Colleges, and would hope that in the interests of both the Colleges and of the University this participation would be encouraged by all levels of the University administration.

IV. The Governance of the Colleges

When times were good, and there seemed to be no end to the supply of students and money, the word "governance" was little heard in academic circles. Then came the lean years, and academics now talk about governance a good deal (though no two people would easily agree on what it means). Put simply, the central question is: Who makes what decisions and how?----to which may be added, who watches over whom? We cannot resist adding the parenthetical thought here, that if the trend continues we may end up spending all our time watching over everyone else.

Given the situation of the Colleges in the organization of the University, it seems reasonable to look at the matter in two ways: how the rest of the University is involved in the Colleges, and how the Colleges manage their internal affairs.

The Prospectus and the chartering process are the channels through which the University watches over the Colleges. These represent a periodic internal review by a University of one of its parts, of a kind that we are not aware of elsewhere in American Universities. We found that the process was generally thought to be satisfactory both by those who did the reviewing and, perhaps more unexpectedly, by those who were reviewed. The reviewers claimed to have improved their understanding of the nature of the Colleges, and the Colleges appear to benefit from the obligatory re-examination of their objectives and activities. We found corroboration of these opinions from our reading of the re-chartering descriptions of some of the Colleges. We conclude that this remarkable experiment in self-evaluation is successful, at least at this stage in time. We heard the thought expressed that perhaps the process should be applied to other parts of the University as well; we decided not to explore that suggestion further.

The College Council is central to the internal government of the Colleges, and its major responsibility is to work with the Dean in the allocation of the Collegiate budget among the different Colleges. It is obvious that, whatever formula is used, there will be come Colleges which will get less than they need. We were struck by the fact that those Colleges whom the formula favored were willing to help out the less fortunate ones: a mode of collegiate behavior which happens also to be one of the admirable though not well-known aspects of the Oxford Colleges. We sensed that the budget has so occupied the attention of the Council that it has only recently begun to pay more attention to matters such as curriculum and long-range planning.

V. The Colleges and the Rest of the Community

The Colleges interact with the rest of the University; and they also interact with the broader community beyond the University. We tried to look at both.

In contrast to the antagonism which was very apparent some years ago, the modd between the Colleges and the rest of the University today appears to be that of a truce, if not of a peace. We did not speak to any outspoken critic of the Colleges; we do understand that there were some among those who were scheduled to meet with us but were unable to do so. The shrillest criticism from both sides now seems muted, and the problems now look like those in any orthodox part of a major university: priorities for overall budget allocation, student FTE's, quality of teaching, and so on. There is less talk of the Colleges as alternatives, and more talk of the Colleges providing important elements to complement undergraduate life in dimensions which the academic departments and dormitory operations cannot provide. These are encouraging signs, but the equilibrium could be easily upset if there is not further progress. What happens next will determine whether the Colleges develop into an established integral part of the total undergraduate programs of the University, or regress into their former embattled minority positions.

We noted in the programs of the Colleges a number of ways in which they and the community outside the University come together. This seems especially so with certain of the Colleges, perhaps because of their particular themes. In the time we had, we were not able to get enough first-hand knowledge of these interactions to form a detailed opinion. We did hear of enough examples, however, to see that this was an area of significant activity for the Colleges as a whole, and one which we applaud.

VI. Conclusion

We shall now gather the parts together, and restate briefly our response to your charge, which migh be condensed into the following questions: Where are the Colleges now? Have they been worth it?

The Colleges have survived a critical infance during which their very survival was at times in doubt. The most serious concerns that were expressed about them have been resolved. They have at least made a start towards meeting the obligations to which they are committed, to satisfy certain essential needs of undergraduate education and service to the community which are not otherwise met. They have developed a mode of collegiate government which seems to work well. They have created a sense of neighborhood for groups of students. They have made a beginning towards involving larger numbers of faculty members in their activities. They have taken elements of the University to the community: neighborhoods, minorities, women, problems of the environment; and they have generated community interest in the University as well. In trying to get a measure of how much all of this amounts to, we bore in mind the setting in which this took place: the turbulent founding years, the physical expansion and fragmentation of the campus, the shortage of money, the increasingly conflicting loyalties of the faculty to their professions versus their University. Most of these problems are now endemic to all universities, and so we are sensitive to the context in which Buffalo has been able to bring the Colleges to their position today: we think it is a remarkable accomplishment. Many must have contributed to it; in what we saw in our limited time, we have been most impressed by the skillful and imaginative leadership of the Colleges by Dean Spitzberg, and the thoughtful and extensive involvement of Professor Reichert representing the Faculty Senate. The efforts of these and others have brought the Colleges to a point

where now their essential role in the University can begin to be delineated in detail. We are convinced that they have such a role: therefore all of this effort, all of this commitment, has been worth while.

Even our brief involvement with the Colleges at SUNYAB has created in us a deep interest in their future. We shall watch their further development both because of this and because of what we may learn from this unique venture that may apply to other major universities.